SELLY OAK COLLEGES

Alphonse Mingana

1878-1937

by

Samir Khalil Samir SJ



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ALPHONSE MINGANA (1878-1937) AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO EARLY CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM STUDIES

It gives me great pleasure to have the opportunity of considering Alphonse Mingana, his life and work, and his contribution to Muslim-Christian studies. And where better to do so than here in the Selly Oak Colleges, where Mingana lived and worked for so many years?

Much about Mingana's life remains enigmatic. Born in Iraq, he abandoned his country for reasons still not clearly understood, and emigrated to England, where, for good reason, he became famous. We will try to follow him in his geographical and intellectual journey, from Iraq to Birmingham, to Manchester and back to Birmingham. But before I go further, I would like to acknowledge my debt to Marie Mingana, the daughter of our "hero", for the valuable information she has given me about her father (1).

1. IRAQ (1878-1913)

This part of Mingana's life is the most enigmatic and the most controversial. It can be divided into two phases: the student phase (until 1902) and the scholar phase (from 1902).

a) Mingana's youth in Iraq (1878-1902)

This is the formative period, and extends up to the ordination of our scholar, who was not yet known as Alphonse. We can divide this period into two sections: first his childhood, when he was at home in his village, for a little more than 12 years; then his studies, when he moved to the Seminary of Mosul, for almost 12 further years.

i) At home (1878-1891)

Alphonse Mingana was born on the 23 December, probably in 1878, not in 1881 as most biographies say (2), and not in 1883 as written in the Ottoman Attestation delivered in AH 1325 (= AD 1907-1908) (3).

He was born in the Christian village of Sharânsh al-'Ulyâ, called also Sharânsh an-Nasârah (Sharânsh of the Christians) (4) to distinguish it from Sharânsh al-Islam, in the district of Zâkho (North Iraq). The village was famous for its climate, its many springs and its vines.

His parents were pious Chaldeans (that is, Christians from the Catholic Syrian Oriental tradition). According to some sources, they were 'rich landowners' (5) (this view is widely repeated); but according to Vosté, they were simple peasants, owning a small piece of land (6). If I read the Ottoman Attestation correctly, they were both born in a village called Burjân.

Although it is not mentioned in any Western biography, it is certain that his father Paul (Paôlôs) was a Catholic priest (7). He worked first in Bigo (in modern Turkey, almost on the border with Iraq), and then returned to his home village (8). His mother was Maryam Nânô (9).

They had eight children, six boys and two girls. Alphonse was the oldest; it was then normal that he should follow in the footsteps of his father and enter the priesthood. One of the two girls became a nun; I have been told that she was living until recently in Fribourg, Switzerland (10). The longest surviving brother was Kada', who died in 1973 (11).

His real name was Hurmiz, a common proper name among Chaldeans of the Mosul region, who were very devoted to the famous monastery of Dayr al-Rabbân Hurmizd near Alqosh.

Later, at the time of his ordination, he changed his name, as Chaldean priests still do, and took the name of Alphonse. He was then known as "Qass Alphonse" (priest Alphonse), the word Qass being a part of his name even in the official Ottoman Attestation.

At home, the family probably spoke more neo-Syriac (Sureth) than Arabic, but it is likely that they heard some Turkish and Kurdish. We are told that Hurmiz learned classical Syriac from his father while still a child.

ii) At the Mosul Seminary (1891-1902)

Contrary to the statement in his English biography, he never went to France as a child: 'they sent their son for education to the Lycée St Jean in Lyons. Here he acquired complete command of French, and his European training' (12). This assertion is repeated everywhere, and was even made to me by Mingana's daughter.

He was in fact sent to the 'Séminaire Saint Jean' of Mosul, founded by Mgr Eugène Louis Lion (13). This seminary was run by French Dominican Fathers, and trained young boys from the two Syriac speaking Catholic communities (Syrian and Chaldean) for the priesthood.

The mistake is understandable for English-speaking people, and is not to be attributed to Mingana himself, who could have said, if asked about his complete command of French, that he learned it in the school of Saint Jean of Lion (not of Lyon in France).

Later on, his daughter Marie informed me he used to spend the summer holidays in Brittany (France) with his family.

He entered the Seminary in 1891, probably in September or October. He was then not yet thirteen years old.

There he studied languages: Turkish (which was obligatory, Iraq being part of the Ottoman empire), Persian and Kurdish (the area being inhabited by many Kurds), Latin and French, and obviously Arabic and Syriac, but also Hebrew (14). He had a very good teacher in Syriac and Arabic, the famous Ya'qub Awgin (= Eugène) Manna (1867-1928) (15), who was 'ein ausgezeichneter Kenner der syrischen und arabischen Sprache'. [Tr: 'an outstanding scholar of the Syrian and Arabic languages'] (16).

Hurmiz was a brilliant student. He completed the curriculum of a normal catholic seminary, with special attention to Church Fathers and Church History. In 1902 he was ordained priest by the Chaldean Patriarch Emmanuel II Thomas, who was patriarch from 1900 to 1947, and took the name of Alphonse.

b) Teaching Syriac in the Mosul Seminary (1902-1910)

The new priest started working in his own village where he stayed for some months, but at the end of the year 1902, due to his intelligence and to some external circumstance, he was called to Mosul, to the Seminary.

On 30 November 1902, Awgin Manna, the teacher of Syriac and Arabic in the Seminary, was consecrated bishop, together with two other learned Chaldean priests: Addaï Scher (17) and Stephen Gabri (18). The patriarch decided then that Alphonse Mingana should succeed Awgin Manna as teacher of Syriac.

From that time on Mingana dedicated himself to research, especially on his Syriac tradition. He travelled in the surrounding countryside, collecting Syriac manuscripts kept by families, presumably for his Seminary. According to his own assertion (19), he collected 70 manuscripts, 20 of them on vellum (20), which unfortunately were burnt during the war of 1914-1918.

Between 1903 and 1910, Mingana was also appointed corrector of Syriac and Arabic Books of the Dominican Press (Mosul) (21). But he was never Director of the Dominican Press, as we read in many English publications (22) and in Macuch's History (23), this position being always filled by a senior member of the Dominican Order.

In this capacity, he probably helped the Dominican Press in publishing the offices of baptism, matrimony and the burial of the dead of the Chaldean Church (24), but he plainly did not publish the Officium juxta ritum Syrorum Orientalium in three volumes, as he claimed (25). These volumes had already been published by the Persian Lazarist Paul Bedjan in 1886-1887 when Mingana was a child, and were not published again until recent times.

In 1905, Mingana published for his students a Syriac grammar, which is still much appreciated in Iraq (26). The French text is largely attributable to Father Sébastien Scheil OP, brother of the famous Assyriologist Father Vincent Scheil OP, Director of the Seminary. Fairly, Mingana acknowledges this contribution at the end of the Preface:

> 'Ici nous tenons à remercier notre excellent maître et directeur *Sébastien Scheil* OP, qui a eu l'obligeance de revoir et de corriger deux fois le texte de notre grammaire, avant et après l'impression; c'est lui que doit revenir, juste titre, tout ce qu'elle contient de bon. Mossoul 9 Octobre 1905'. [Tr: 'Here we wish to thank our excellent teacher and director Sebastian Scheil OP who has been good enough twice to look through and to correct the text of our Grammar, both before and after it was printed; it is to him that all the good it contains should properly be ascribed. Mosul, 9 October 1905'] (27).

c) Narsai's Homilies (1905)

i) The edition of Narsai's Homilies

In 1905, Mingana also published two large volumes in Syriac of the works of Narsai (AD 399-502), the founder of the School of Nisibis (28). The edition is preceded by a rather long Latin preface (p 5-40), which includes in Appendix (p 32-39) an account of the school of Nisibis by Bar Hadbeshabba, as we shall see. This work is still the only available edition of a great part of the works of Narsai (one of the greatest Nestorian theologians); most of it has not yet been translated into any other language (29).

It was not a critical edition. It was intended to be a reading book for Chaldean priests, not a book for scholars. For that reason, the homilies were slightly expurgated to suppress some Nestorian affirmations. It may be in these circumstances that Mingana had some problems with the ecclesiastical censor. But

the relationship with the Seminary and the Dominican Fathers was not affected, as is attested by his dedication of the two volumes to 'Missioni dominicanae et seminario syro-chaldeo Mausiliensi, in significationem grati et devoti animi'. [Tr: 'the Dominican missions and the Syro-Chaldean seminary of Mosul, as a sign of a grateful and devoted heart'] (30).

ii) The reaction of Chabot

The real problem was created by one page of his preface (31). In effect, Mingana published (p 32-39) a section of the text of Bar Hadbeshabba on 'the causes of the foundation of the Schools', which text was to be published completely two years later (with a French translation) by Addaï Scher (32).

Because of its importance, Jean-Baptiste Chabot (the founder of the Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium) (33), translated this section into French, with a commentary (34). He showed clearly some contradictions existing between paragraphs I-V and paragraphs VI-VIII (the latter covering 25 lines of the Syriac), which were separated, said Mingana, by a big gap in the manuscript (35). Chabot concluded his study with these remarks:

> 'Il serait téméraire d'attribuer une autorité prépondérante à notre auteur. Nous sommes en présence d'un document dont le caractère n'est pas nettement défini, mais qui paraît une juxtaposition mal coordonnée de deux ou plusieurs récits antérieurs, dont les assertions, avant d'être adoptées comme décisives, demandent à être contrôlées soigneusement, ce qui est impossible dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances'. [Tr: 'It would be foolhardy to attribute too high an authority to our author. We are faced with a document whose nature is not clearly defined, but which appears to be a badly coordinated conflation of two or more early texts, the assertions in which, before being accepted as decisive, call for more careful checking than is possible in view of the present extent of our knowledge.'] (36).

iii) Mingana's response

Our young (and still unknown editor) replied immediately to the old and famous scholar, in a rather aggressive and personal way, in a pamphlet of 19 pages published in Mosul, probably at the end of 1905. He entitled it: *Réponse à Mr l'Abbé J - B Chabot, à propos de la Chronique de Barhadhbsabba* (37).

From this response, it seems that Mingana had been hurt by the fact that Chabot said only a few words on the edition, and concentrated his attention on a few pages of the introduction (38). It seems to me that there is here a misunderstanding: Chabot in fact is not reviewing the two volumes of Mingana; he is writing an historical article based on some pages published by Mingana in his introduction. Mingana then attacked Chabot personally, saying that he was 'un homme qui ne sait lire et comprendre le syriaque qu'à coups de dictionnaire, ou par les yeux d'un *chammâs* (39) sans études préparatoires *ad hoc*'. [Tr: 'a man who can only read and understand Syriac with the help of a dictionary or through the eyes of a chammâs untrained in the matter.'] (40).



Mingana with his family.

This critique was to be repeated by another famous Oriental from Mosul and one of the best connoisseurs of Syriac literature, the Patriarch Aphram I Barsaum (1887-1957) (41), a good friend of Mingana (42). In the conclusion of his 'Histoire des sciences et de la litérature syriaques' published first in 1943, he wrote a whole section of nine pages against some Orientalists in defence of Syriac authors (43). Near the end of this section he refers scathingly to these Orientalists as being unable to read two pages of Syriac (not to speak of writing in Syriac) without the help of dictionaries! (44).

In fact, Mingana did not resolve the historical difficulties pointed out by Chabot, or explain the provenance of the three last paragraphs. Furthermore, he implicitly admitted having introduced modifications in his text, giving some rather embarrassed explanations (45).

One gets the feeling that Mingana was irritated by the authority of the Orientalists, who certainly knew less Syriac than he did. In the preface to Narsai, he criticises another famous historian, Jérôme Labourt. He writes: 'Ex hac narratione Bar Hadhbchabbae, liquet quales correctiones efferendae sint operi D J Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire perse'*. [Tr: 'From this narrative of Bar Hadbeshabba should be left aside such corrections as were made in the work of D J Labourt *Christianity in the Persian Empire*.'] (46).

Two years later, he spoke ironically of Orientalists, calling them with condescension 'nos syrologues modernes' (47).

Much later, in 1933, presenting the first volume of his collection, Mingana maintains this satirical approach. He writes: 'In preparing this catalogue I determined to keep within the limits of one volume. Had I followed the practice of Assemani, Wright, Sachau and some other scholars it would have exceeded three volumes. All those students whose researches compel them frequently to consult cumbersome catalogues consisting of many volumes, will appreciate my restraint on this point' (48).

iv) Consequences for Mingana's career

The edition of the text of Bar Hadbeshabba by Addaï Scher in 1907 (49), proved clearly that Chabot was right. In his introduction, Scher says that the 25 suspect lines are not to be found in any manuscript. Nevertheless, he tries to find a compromise, suggesting that these lines 'feraient partie de l'*Histoire* de Bar Hadhbchabba et auraient été insérés dans le manuscrit de M Mingana ou dans son prototype à la fin du traité que nous publions, par un copiste quelconque, comme supplément'. [Tr: 'belong to the *History* by Bar Hadbeshabba and would have been inserted by some copyist into the manuscript of Mr Mingana, or its prototype, at the end of the treatise we here publish, as a supplement.'] (50).

But the publication of the second part of this History in 1913, by François Nau (51), did not confirm this hypothesis: the 25 lines are not in this second part either!

The worst of this whole story is that, from now on, scholars were to have doubts about the Mingana's method and about his scientific honesty: did he really find the 25 lines he published in a Manuscript (and in that case, why does he not exhibit it?), or did he forge them?

This mistake of the young Mingana (in 1904, when he wrote his preface, he was only 26) added to the aggressive way he addressed the 'modern syriacists', was a burden in the career of our scholar and occasioned him many problems with some scholars, throwing a general suspicion on his work, often without justification.

d) The Chronicle of Arbela or Mshiha-Zkha (1907)

The so-called 'Chronicle of Arbela' is one of the enigmas that Mingana buried with him in the tomb. I am not sure we can make full sense of it, but I will try to give as much information as possible, interpreting the facts we possess.

i) A modern manuscript made old and its success

In 1907, Mingana started the publication of a series he called 'Sources Syriaques', of which only one volume appeared, in two parts (271 + 204 pages) (52). The first part contains the so-called 'Chronicle of Arbela' that Mingana attributed to Mshiha-Zkha. He published the Syriac text with a French translation (p 1-168).

This text became very famous. On the 21 October 1907, that is to say immediately after the publication of the document by Mingana, the Preussische Staatsbibliothek of Berlin acquired the MS for 3500 French Francs (plus the expedition expenses), on the assumption that it was from the 10th century.

In fact, an expert examination done in the 1960s established that the MS was written in our century, and was deliberately made to look older by means of fire, wax etc. The copyist is even known: he was the priest Abraham Shakwana of Alqosh (52b), who told a friend how Dr Mingana taught him to make the MS 'older' by putting it in the oven and so on. Mingana was clever enough to let people think that the MS was from the tenth century, although he did not assert this clearly.

The text was translated into German in 1915 by Eduard Sachau (53), and into Latin in 1927 by Franz Zorell (54). The most famous orientalists and Church historians studied it, among them A Allgeier, Adolph von Harnack, Anton Baumstark, J B Umberg, H Dieckmann, Giuseppe Messina, Ignazio Ortiz de Urbina (55), Julius Assfalg (56), Nina Viktorovna Pigulevskaja, Arthur Vööbus, M L Chaumont, Wilhelm de Vries (57), Jean-Maurice Fiey (58). Recently, in 1985, Peter Kawerau reedited the text with a German translation (59).

ii) Forgeries by Mingana?

Once again the problem is that of the authenticity of the Syriac original.

The first to question the authenticity of this Chronicle, for historical reasons, was Paul Peeters SJ, a famous orientalist (60), in 1925. Since the publication of his article,

most orientalists have expressed their doubts regarding the authenticity of the text, although some (like Peter Kawerau) still consider it an important historical document (61).

Mingana's argument in attributing this work to Mshiha-Zkha (an unknown Syriac historian, mentioned 'en passant' by 'Abdishu of Nisibis in his 'Catalogue of Syriac Authors') lay in the fact that the title and the name of the author were written in the margin of one of the folios, in an old stranghelo writing. But Father Vosté OP revealed, in 1941, that these Syriac words were written by a monk from Alqosh at the request of Qass Alphonse (ie Mingana) (62). This marginal note ('Book of Ekklesiastike of Mshiha-Zkha') can be seen today on folio 27 verso of the Berlin manuscript, and has been reproduced twice by Julius Assfalg (63).

In 1967, Father Fiey OP revealed the name of the copyist: Thomas son of Hanna, of the Battota family from Karamlaiss, a Chaldean monk from Our Lady of the Seeds, easy to identify through his handwriting (64).

These two incidents in the life of Mingana, which remain partially unclear, prove that, for some unknown reason, he did not publish the Syriac texts faithfully. This fact is indirectly admitted by a great scholar and a friend of Mingana, his only Oriental friend, the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch Aphram I Barsaum. In the last page of his 'History of Syriac Literature', after having sharply criticised many Orientalists (65), he adds: 'Nevertheless, we have found some of them who were moderate, like Brooks, Haase (66), Sprengling (67), Graham (68), Mingana at the end of his life (69), and Gustave Bardy' (70).

At the end of his studies, Father Fiey, a well-known historian of the Syriac Oriental Church, concludes by saying that the real author of the Chronicle of Arbela is . . . Alphonse Mingana (71). My own opinion is that this conclusion may go too far.

It therefore appears that Qass Alphonse made two blunders. To my knowledge, he never repeated this kind of textual manipulation. But it was too late, and, as we will see, some Orientalists will never forgive him these youthful mistakes.

iii) The irritation of the Chaldean Patriarch

One of the unexpected consequences of this publication by Mingana was the reaction of the Chaldean Patriarch. Before the book was published, he asked the Dominicans to stop publication.

Finally, he came to an agreement with Mingana, based on a compromise: the book could be sold in Europe, but in the East a sentence had to be omitted (72). It was probably the last sentence of note 1 of p 78, where Mingana said: 'Nous pensons que l'historicité d'Adda, abstraction faite des détails fabuleux dont les écrivains du Ve-VIe s. ont orné sa vie, ne peut plus être révoquée en doute (...). Par contre, l'existence du disciple Mari doit être considérée, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, de plus en plus problématique et même fabuleuse'. [Tr: We believe that the historicity of Adda, looking aside from the fabulous details with which the 5th and 6th century writers embellished his life, can no longer be called in question (...). On the other hand, the

existence of Mari the disciple must be considered, unless and until new evidence can be brought, increasingly problematic, and even fabulous.'] (73).

Such an affirmation, current in western publications, was offensive to the successor of Mar Mari! Obviously, the omission of this sentence did not totally solve the problem, and the relationship between Qass Alphonse and the Patriarch remained tense.

e) End of Mingana's career in Mosul: The great rupture

Mingana published in 1908 two other Syriac texts: the story of the monastery of Sabrishu (102 pages) and Bar Penkayé (204 pages), both with a French translation (74).

Then something must have happened which has not yet been clarified. Mingana did not publish anything, not a single article, for five years and more. This is absolutely incomprehensible for a man who started so brilliantly and who had a lot of documents at his disposal (think of the 70 manuscripts he gathered, twenty of them on vellum!), and a good library at the Seminary.

I believe that the question of the note he wrote on the origin of the Chaldean Patriarch had much wider repercussions than is usually believed.

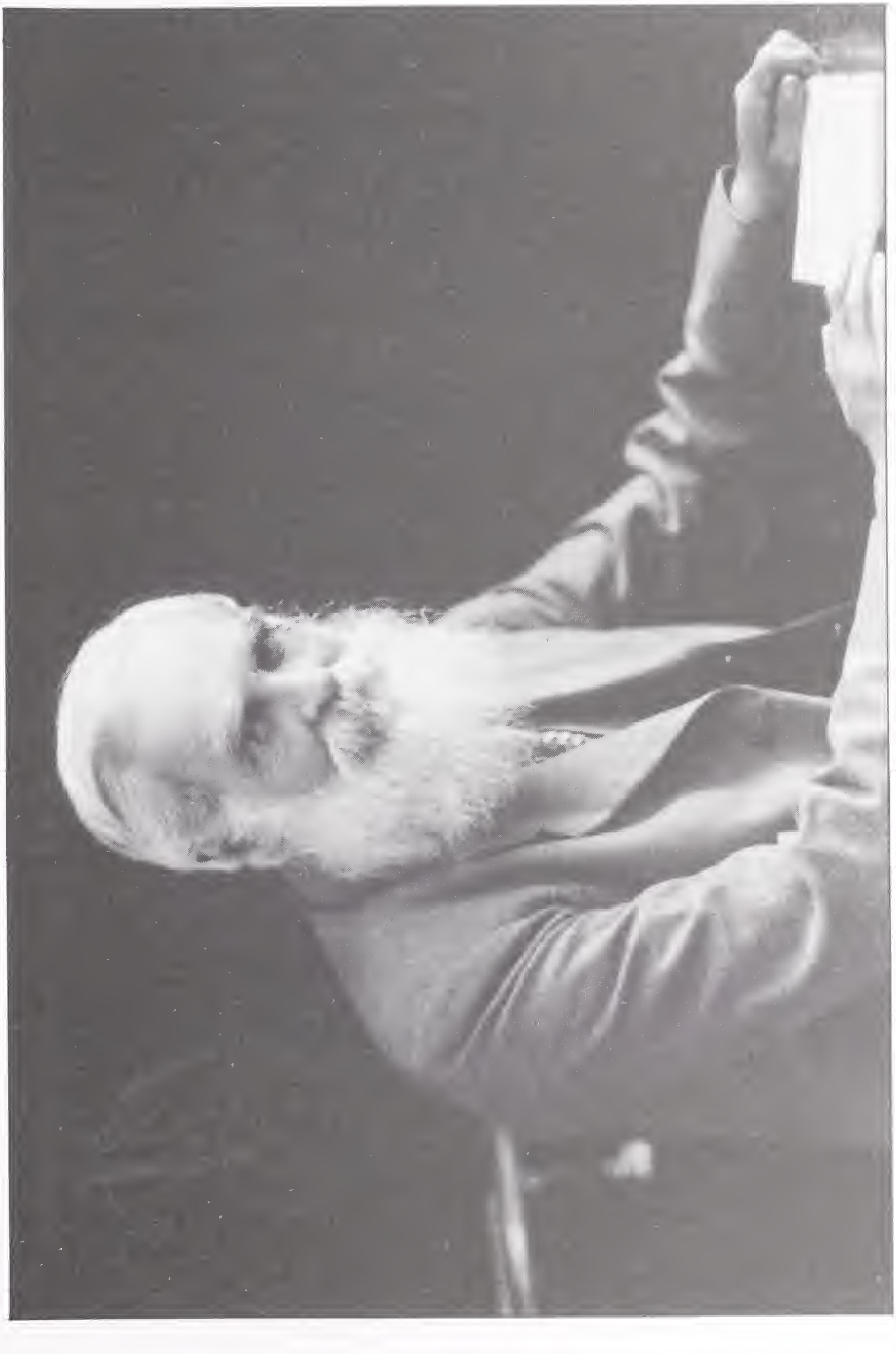
One of his disciples, the Chorepiscopos Joseph Tfinkdji, who was ordained in Mosul in 1907 (five years after Mingana), says that Mingana had 'de graves démêlés' [Tr: serious troubles] with the Chaldean Patriarch. The reason for these troubles, he said, was the book on Mshiha-Zkha in which Mingana attributed the origin of the Chaldean Patriarchate to Antioch. This dispute became so important that Mingana was obliged to leave the Seminary, and Qass Tfinkdji left with him (75). The patriarch was also angry with Bishop Addaï Scher who authorized the publication of the book (76).

One can assume the obstinacy of both protagonists, and the order given to Mingana to leave the Seminary.

This happened in 1910. Now, Mingana had no ability to preach, because of a speech defect, says Father Vosté (77). This fact is indirectly confirmed by his British biographers, who say: 'From 1916 to 1923 he was Special Lecturer in Arabic in the University of Manchester; but he found lecturing irksome and uncongenial, and his influence over younger scholars was more happily exercised in private discussion' (78).

Having therefore no inclination for preaching (and hence not being well adapted for parish work), at the same time having been dismissed from ecclesiastical teaching, Mingana passed through what was probably the most difficult stage of his life. It is likely that he was not supported by any of his friends. It could be also that he had no real personal friend.

This totally obscure period of his life lasts almost three years.



Rendel Harris, the first Director of Studies at Woodbrooke.

In the end, Qass Alphonse Mingana broke off relations with his Church, and left Mosul on 7 January 1913.

'He spent two months travelling in Persia and the Ottoman Empire, during which he was entertained at Mardin by an American Protestant missionary named Andrews, whose hospitality he never forgot' (79).

On 17 March 1913, Alphonse Mingana left the East, for ever. He was over 34. He was not intending to return. In fact, he did return for three visits in search of manuscripts, as we will show later.

He had one address in his pocket, given to him by a missionary friend, that of Rendel Harris in Birmingham. A new life was beginning for him, full of question marks.

2. WOODBROOKE (1913-1915)

a) Woodbrooke a haven of refuge (1913-1915)

Mingana arrived at Birmingham, probably at the end of March 1913, with the recommendation from Pastor Andrews (80) to Rendel Harris. He spent the first weeks in the house of Rendel Harris, and then moved to Woodbrooke, a Quaker study centre, founded in 1903, the earliest of the Selly Oak Colleges.

i) First Months In Britain

Woodbrooke was for him an ideal place: quiet and stimulating for his studies. He liked the grounds, and used to walk in them daily alone (81). Later on, in the 1930s, when he was in his house called "Manuscripta" in Selly Oak, neighbours saw him walking alone in his garden (82).

He stayed there for over two years, 'during the latter of which he taught Eastern languages: Arabic for missionaries and Hebrew for theological students' (83).

In July 1913, to be exact, on the seventh, he finished a long study of the Odes of Solomon (84). His knowledge of English being very slight, he wrote it in French and sent it to a German journal. The study was published in two issues, in 1914-1915, in 44 pages (85). Undoubtedly, this study is connected with the discovery made, on the 4 January 1909, by Rendel Harris of a recent (17th century) Syriac manuscript in his collection, now in the the John Rylands Library (Manchester) where it stands as Cod. Syr. 9. Within a few years, the Rendel Harris edition (86) had given rise to about a hundred studies (87). Mingana had access to this enormous literature.

He continued working on this important Syriac document on the origins of Christianity, and published a new edition of it, in collaboration with Rendel Harris. This was due to the discovery of new fragments of the 'Odes', especially the tenth-century parchment from the Dayr al-Suryan (Wadi al-Natrun, Egypt), kept in the British Library (then British Museum) under the number Add. 14538, which was identified in 1912 by Francis Crawford Burkitt (88). Two volumes appeared later when he was in Manchester (in 1916 and 1920) containing text, translation and notes (89). According to a handwritten note on a copy of volume 2 kept in Selly Oak Colleges Library, the book appeared on 27 May 1920 (90).

ii) Short Stay At Cambridge (1913)

Meanwhile, through the friendship of Rendel Harris, Mingana began to have some contacts with orientalists. Community of interests and studies won for him the friendship of two famous travellers and scholars, the twins Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson (91). Both knew Syriac and Arabic, and had published many volumes of recognized scholarly work. Being widows, they lived together in Cambridge.

In November 1913 they invited Mingana to their house. It was there 'that he discovered the significance of the text of some palimpsest Qur'ân leaves in Mrs Lewis's possession, which formed the subject of his first contribution to Islamic scholarship' (92).

Together, Mrs Lewis (93) and Mingana, published a booklet in 1914, entitled: 'Leaves from three ancient Qur'âns, possibly Pre-Othmânic' (94), which means that these leaves could be earlier than the collection of the Qur'ân which was made by the third Muslim Caliph, 'Uthmân, about 20 years after Muhammad's death (d 632) (95). The reaction of the Islamicists was not positive. As A W Price says, in his biography of the two sisters: 'Most subsequent Islamic scholars, however, have decided that the fragments are of a later date; and the Islamic world has consequently continued to spin upon its axis, as hitherto' (96).

This manuscript is actually kept in the Cambridge University Library under number *Oriental 1287,* and contains 94 folios on parchment, the upper text being the *Protevangelium Jacobi et Transitus Mariae* (97). The authors of Mingana's biography added this interesting remark: 'By an odd coincidence, amongst his latest acquisitions, though he did not live to identify it, was a stray leaf from the same manuscript' (98). Unfortunately, they do not give the reference to the manuscript, and I have been unable to identify it (99).

It is then that he wrote his review of Professor David Samuel Margoliouth's book entitled *The Early Development of Mohammedanism.* This review was published in *The Expository Times* in April 1914, and it is the first of a series of his articles published in this Journal (100). Mingana signed his article, in a rather ambiguous way: 'By Alphonse Mingana, DD, Cambridge'.

The relationship with Professor Margoliouth (101) was to become stronger, and a real friendship was to unite both orientalists. Marie Mingana remembers at least two visits of Margoliouth to their house in Manchester, and equally visits from her father to Margoliouth. She adds that about 1930 Margoliouth was willing to retire from Oxford on condition that his successor would be Mingana. But the latter could not accept, because his collection of manuscripts was already housed in Selly Oak, Birmingham (102).

The question of the collection of the Qur'ân was to preoccupy Mingana. In 1916 he wrote a suggestive article (103) setting out: first the views of Muslim writers on the way the Qur'ân was transmitted, and then the views of Christian writers, three Syriac and one Arab, namely: the Syrian Patriarch John I (or III) in 639, the Nestorian Patriarch Ishòyahb III about 647, John Bar Penkayé about 690, and 'Abd al-Masih al-Kindi about 820.

iii) Return To Woodbrooke

Back at Woodbrooke, he worked (probably encouraged by Rendel Harris) on the Syriac text of the Bible. He published first a series of five short articles in *The Expository Times* on the Syriac Gospels (104), then a small one on Judges 15: 8 (105), and again one on the Syriac Gospels (106).

He also wrote for *The Expositor* two longer studies on the Early Church: one dealing with Clement of Rome (1st century) (107), and the other on Christian Monasticism (108).

The hospitality he received at Woodbrooke, the openness of the Quaker group and the Quaker simplicity impressed him deeply. He remained warmly attached to this place throughout his life, 'choosing the name "Woodbrooke Studies" for the series in which he gave the world editions of some among the most important of the documents which he had brought to light' (109), and again the name "Woodbrooke Scientific Publications" for another series he started in 1935 with an edition of Job of Edessa's "Book of Treasures" (110).

As in all fables and in good old films, the stay at Woodbrooke had a happy ending, because it is there that Alphonse Mingana met Emma Sophie Floor of Stavanger, a Norwegian Lutheran lady, who had spent a year in France in Montbéliard, practising French in a Protestant college for girls, and was now pursuing some social studies and improving her English in Selly Oak.

In June 1914 they were engaged. Emma then went to Norway, to announce her plans to her family and intending to come back for the marriage. Meanwhile, German forces invaded Belgium on 3-4 August 1914, and Great Britain declared war against Germany on 4 August 1914. Emma could not come back to Britain till the next year when she came, accompanied by her older brother, and married Alphonse Mingana on 14 July 1915 (111).

They had two children, a son and a daughter, both born in Manchester (112), John on 5 April 1916 and Marie on 3 January 1918.

John married Mary Curtis, who was a music teacher. They have had four children, all alive (one of them in Canada, the others in Britain): Peter, Andrew, Janet and Iain. John died in an accident in June 1970. Later Mary married again.

Emma died in June 1974 in Birmingham.

Marie worked for a long time in the British Council (113). She is a very lively person, with a warm and attractive personality.

b) Mingana's doctorate

At this point in our narrative, it is necessary to interrupt the course of the story, to clarify a point.

i) The story of the 'papal doctorate'

In all the biographies written in Britain we read that Mingana 'received a papal doctorate of divinity' (114). The same assertion is repeated by Macuch: 'Für seine Veröffentlichung "Narsai Homiliae et carmina" (...) erhielt er das päpstliche Doktorat der Theologie'. [Tr: 'For his publication "The Sermons and Songs of Narsai" he was granted a papal Doctorate of Theology.'] (115).



Mingana at work.



Dr and Mrs Mingana with Woodbrooke participants.

This is a pure fiction. Its origin could be, as Father Vosté has explained, what we find on the title-page of Narsai's edition: 'Cura et studio D Alphonsi Mingana'. This 'D' was perhaps interpreted as 'Doctor'. In fact, it is the usual Latin abbreviation in the Catholic universities for 'Dominus', which corresponds to 'Reverend' in other traditions. On the Syriac title-page, the author wrote: 'Qashshîshâ Alphonsos Mingana', which means clearly the priest Alphonse Mingana (116). In the same way, Mingana speaks, in his Latin preface, of 'D J Labourt' (117), the 'D' not being the initials of Jérôme Labourt, but his title as 'Revd'.

In connection with his work on Narsai, one can only mention the following fact: Oriental students used to send a copy of their books, in homage, to some important ecclesiastical person or institution. Even today, most Oriental priests send a copy of what they produce to the Oriental Congregation of Rome, or to some cardinals. So did Mingana, through Father Sébastien Scheil, OP, the one who revised his Syriac grammar. In a letter of the latter to Mgr Drure, Apostolic Delegate in Iraq, dated 9 May 1906, Father Scheil says: 'J'ai prié aussi le P Gaufroy d'envoyer un Narsés et une Grammaire syriaque de Cas Alphonse à la Sacrée Congrégation (ie de la Propagande)'. [Tr: 'I also asked Fr Gaufroy to send a Narsai and a Syriac Grammar by Qass Alphonse to the Sacred Congregation (ie to the Propaganda Fide)']. Later on, he received the usual letter of congratulations from the Sacred Congregation (118). That is all. It does not amount to any academic recognition.

ii) When did Mingana start using the title of 'Doctor'?

In all his publications written in Iraq, Mingana never used this title. He does not use any title in the two articles on the 'Odes of Solomon' published in French in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums* (119). Nor in his articles on the 'Devil-worshippers' (120), or on the Syriac versions of the Old Testament' (121), or on 'the transmission of the Kur'ân' (122), all published in 1916, though probably they were already submitted in 1914.

The first time that the title 'Doctor' appears is in his article published in *The Expository Times* in April 1914: 'The Early Development of Mohammedanism', by Alphonse Mingana, DD, Cambridge (123). The next year, two articles appeared in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* with the title: 'by the Revd A Mingana, DD' 124). He soon abandoned the title 'Revd', for obvious reasons. But from then on, he always signed his publications with the 'DD'.

Finally, I have found one article signed: 'by Professor A Mingana', in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* in 1922 (125).

iii) Explanation of this fact

Psychologically, one can understand what happened to our scholar.

In the Orient, Mingana was known and appreciated as a learned man. He was probably called 'Malpânâ' (Doctor), as is the custom with such learned people. Nobody could deny his great knowledge of Syriac language and literature, and his

capacity for languages. Moreover, his edition (with introduction and notes) of the Narsai homilies could certainly have been a good dissertation for obtaining a doctorate in divinity, if it had been presented in a recognized Faculty of Theology. Unfortunately, he was studying in a seminary which was not allowed to confer any degrees.

Yet on coming to Britain in 1913 he was confronted with a new reality: namely, that in this country one had to have a title, that one's value was estimated according to external qualifications. In this context, Mingana needed to be considered a 'Doctor'. Personally, I consider he was really 'Doctor', even if no university ever granted him this title, but this could not be the opinion of officialdom. Mingana was then 35 years old, too late to start writing a PhD.

Furthermore, a 'papal doctorate of divinity', as his biographers say, added something 'piquant' to this rather odd scholar, who had left the Catholic Church to live in a Protestant milieu. We have to remember that it was at the beginning of this century, and that ecumenical relationships were almost unknown!

Mingana probably did not say that he had a doctorate, but he did not deny the fact when it was attributed to him. He even put it on his passport, and this fact provoked an entertaining anecdote in one of his journeys (probably the second journey done in 1925). I quote the story from an unpublished talk given by Mingana on the 1 March 1934 at the 'Cambridge Theological Society':

> 'We began our journey, and reached a small village which separated the new frontiers of Syria and Iraq. My passport had to be stamped there, and I went to the Arab official, who had near him a little urchin who could read Roman characters. Our kindly officials at the Foreign Office had written, on the first page of my passport: "Dr A Mingana". On hearing the word "Dr", he asked me to take a little rest, as I was tired, in a room near by.
>
> 'About an hour later, he told me that my passport was ready, and to my astonishment, when I went out to continue my journey, I found myself surrounded by people affected by almost all the diseases under the sun! Some were cripples, others had head-ache, ear-ache, stomach-ache etc. They began to shout: "Doctor! Doctor! for the sake of God!". It was no use explaining to them that I was not a Doctor of Medicine, and so I had to empty for them almost all my small medicine chest, composed mostly of quinine and kindred medicines' (126).

Nevertheless, we must recognize that, in the autobiography Mingana drafted, and which was published in *Who Was Who?* in 1941, four years after his death, he did not mention any doctorate. The entry reads: 'Theologian and orientalist; Hon. Professor of Oriental Languages and Islamics in the Selly Oak Colleges; Curator of the Mingana Collection of MSS.; MAOS (Member of the African and Oriental Society); MRAS (Member of the Royal Asiatic Society); President of the Manchester Oriental Society, 1932'. Mingana did not indicate 'DD', or any similar title (127).

3. MINGANA IN MANCHESTER (1915-1932)

Mingana spent 17 years in Manchester, the longest period he ever stayed in one place. It is there that his two children, John and Marie, were born. It is there that he wrote the major part of his books, and from there that he made his three expeditions in the Middle East in search of manuscripts.

a) Before the journeys to the Middle East (1915-1924)

In July 1915, Mingana 'was appointed to the staff of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, to catalogue its rich collection of Arabic manuscripts, of which the nucleus is that formed by the 25th and 26th Earls of Crawford, and bought by Mrs Rylands in 1901. He remained there till 1932, having latterly the title of Keeper of the Oriental manuscripts' (128). He insisted on bringing in his friend Rendel Harris (129), who was appointed keeper of the oriental collection of the John Rylands Library in 1918, at the age of 66.

Mingana started working actively on these manuscripts as soon as he came. In the year of his arrival (1915), he published two important articles in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*: 'An important old Turki manuscript in the John Rylands Library', which was reprinted in The Muslim World (130), and 'Notes upon some of the Kurânic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library' (131). The year after, he published an article on some sayings attributed to Christ in Muhyi ad-Din Ibn 'Arabi, found in the Cod. Arab. 399 of the same Library (132), and so on. Every year brought some new contribution selected from manuscripts of the John Rylands Library.

'From 1916 to 1923, he was "Special Lecturer" in Arabic in the University of Manchester' (133). But, as we have seen before, he did not like lecturing.

Meanwhile, the war was growing in intensity, and the British Army felt the need for some linguistic tools for military personnel serving in the Middle East. Mingana was asked to write a basic Vocabulary, and the book appeared in 1917 in seven columns, with English words and their translation into 6 Oriental languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Armenian, Kurdish and Syriac, all except the Armenian compiled by him, on behalf of the Admiralty and the War Office (134).

He was also 'acting as censor for the letters of Assyrian refugees (...) He also helped to inform public opinion by numerous articles in the *Manchester Guardian* on political and social conditions in the Near and Middle East' (135). Other articles such as that entitled "Baghdad and After" (136), reflected the Middle East situation.

In 1920 he obtained British citizenship. As his biographers say: 'He became one of the most loyal of Englishmen, though he remained one of the least typical. His use of English became fluent and expressive, but never lost a colour and a vivacity rare amongst us. And he would boast, with a complete freedom from its restraints, of our phlegmatic national character' (137).

b) The Letter of Philoxenus to Abû 'Afr

'In 1925 Mingana published (138) a document concerning the conversion of a Turkish tribe in the time of the East Syrian Patriarch Acacius (485-495/6), a text which he found in the second part of a letter attributed to Philoxenus of Mabbug, and addressed to Abû 'Afr' (139), the governor of Hîrat an-Nu'mân. The edition was based on a unique manuscript, the *Rylands Syr. 59*, copied by the well-known deacon and zealous scribe Mattai bar Paulos bar Na'matallâh of Mosul (140), and completed on 29 January 1909.

In 1928, Paul Peeters attacked the historicity of the document in a short article (141). He wrote: 'Le jacobite du IXe siècle parle comme s'il avait lu les ouvrages de Bethune Baker et de J Lebon'. [Tr: 'The 9th century Jacobite is made to speak as if he had read the works of Bethune Baker and of J Lebon.'] Mingana answered in a short note (142) that he had found a new manuscript, the actual *Mingana Syr. 71* from about 1600. Peeters was rather unimpressed by this argument, and he reprinted his article in 1951, with few additions (143).

In 1961 Father Fiey OP published his article on Mingana and the 'Chronicle of Arbela', in which he suggested that this second manuscript never existed (144). In fact, I have been able to check the manuscript in the Mingana collection, and find that all the information given by Mingana was correct. Furthermore, on comparing this manuscript with some of those transcribed by the *shammas* Mattai (namely *Mingana Syr. 368, 612* and *613*), I became certain that the writing was totally different.

The last answer is given by Sebastian Brock of Oxford University, who compared the two Syriac manuscripts: Rylands Syr. 59 (of Manchester) and Mingana Syr. 71 (of Birmingham), noting all the variant readings (145). This comparison shows that the *Vorlage* of both manuscripts 'cannot postdate the thirteenth century, for Denha I (+ 1281) was the last patriarch resident at Baghdad until 1830' (146).

So, once again, Mingana was right, but was accused of forgery and manipulation. Which shows how long, unfortunately, his early mistakes (in 1905-1909) continued to influence the minds of some orientalists.

c) The Catalogue of the John Rylands Library

Mingana was still preparing the catalogue of the John Rylands Library. But a good catalogue of manuscripts can be a lifetime's work. In fact, he published the catalogue of this collection only in 1934, after 19 years of work (147).

Such a catalogue requires a kind of universal knowledge of Arabic and Islamic studies, and possibly Christian and Jewish Arabic studies. It also requires good experience in palaeography and codicology, to make accurate dating of the manuscripts possible.

On this point, I must say that Mingana was really a master. His datings of the manuscripts are infinitely more precise than those of any other cataloguer. When I read these evaluations before coming here, I first thought: “It’s a joke! How could he say ‘about 970’ for instance?”. But I discovered, by working on the Mingana Collection preserved in Selly Oak, that he had a flair for evaluating them which was simply marvellous.

This skill increased as a result of the three expeditions he made in the Middle East, as we shall now see, because he had to evaluate the age of a manuscript in order to guess at the right price for it.

4. AT MANCHESTER: TWO MAJOR ISLAMIC-CHRISTIAN APOLOGIES

Mingana had always had a gift for discovering manuscripts and choosing the most important of them. Having at his disposal at Manchester (and in his own Collection) hundreds, even thousands of documents, mostly unedited, he concentrated on the most important ones. Concerning Islam, he published during the years 1922-1928 two major Islamic-Christian apologies, which have to be counted among the few very important documents in this field, one of them in Arabic, the other in Syriac.

a) Tabari's defence of Islam (1920-1930)

The story of this publication is a sad one in the history of scholarship. Mingana's publication provoked unexpected attacks, not only academic. Undoubtedly emotions contributed much to make this publication controversial.

i) The Publication of Tabari's Defence of Islam

> 'In cataloguing the Oriental MSS of the John Rylands Library, I came across an unknown and semi-official defence of Islam. The MS containing it is in some places in a bad state of preservation, but (...) the text has been read and translated, and it is hoped that the book, accompanied by a critical apparatus, will shortly be published by the Governors of the Library at the Manchester University Press' (148). In fact, the book was published in two volumes, Arabic and English, in 1922-1923, under the title "Book of Religion and Empire" (*Kitab al-Din wa-l-Dawlah*) (149).

The manuscript is the Crawford 631 (Nr 69 of Mingana's Catalogue), copied in Baghdad in 616/1219.

This document was written by a famous Christian physician, 'Ali Ibn Rabbân al-Tabari, the author of "Paradise of Wisdom" (*Firdaws al-Hikmah*), who was a personal friend and table-companion (*nadim*) of Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861). At the end of his life, being over 70 (this detail was unknown to Mingana, and was to be discovered later on after the edition of the "Refutation of Christians"), he converted to Islam at the request of the Caliph. To prove the seriousness of his conversion, he wrote an Apology for Islam. It is the 'earliest collection on a large scale of passages in the two Testaments, supposed to foretell the mission of the prophet Mohammed. This Apology, for which the author used the Syriac Bible, can be shown to be the source of later works which have the same object' (150).

ii) The critique of Peeters and Bouyges

This document, of supreme importance in Muslim-Christian apologetics, provoked intense debate. In general, the publication was well received in academic circles.

Unfortunately, one of the reviewers, Father Paul Peeters SJ, reacted to it very critically, and suspected the authenticity of the document. He concluded his review with these words: 'Si ces témoignages ont la date qu'on leur suppose, ils mériteraient d'être pris en sérieuse considération. Mais il serait imprudent de les recevoir avant un supplément d'enquête. Provisoirement, la place du *Kitab ad-din wad-daula* est parmi les supercheries littéraires'. [Tr: 'If those witnesses are of the date supposed they would deserve serious attention. But it would be unwise to accept them without further research. For the moment the *Kitab ad-din wad-daula* is to be counted among the hoaxes of literature.'] (151). It was an unjust accusation. But this was only a review, and no Islamicists read the *Analecta Bollandiana* where it appeared.

A few months later, another famous Jesuit orientalist, Father Maurice Bouyges (152), famous editor of the much appreciated series "Bibliotheca Arabicarum Scholasticarum", published in Beirut two open letters to the editor entitled: 'Is the Book of Religion and Empire authentic?'. He used this very severe accusation: 'Bien que votre manuscrit Crawford 531 porte la date 616 H (= 1219), je me crois autorisé à penser que l'apologie musulmane anti-chrétienne qu'il contient a été écrite par un Pseudo-Tabari moderne, au XXeme siècle'. [Tr: 'Although your manuscript Crawford 531 is dated 616H (= 1219), I cannot but consider that the Muslim anti-Christian apology which it contains has been written by a modern Pseudo-Tabari, in the 20th century.'] (153). In other words, the document was a forgery fabricated at Manchester!

The same Bouyges discovered some years later, in Istanbul, the only known manuscript of the "Refutation of the Christians" written by 'Ali al-Tabari, and he did not question the authenticity of this attribution (154). But as far as the *Kitab al-Din wa-l-Dawlah* is concerned, he does not seem to have changed his opinion.

Finally, a year before his death, being at that time 72, Bouyges published a long article on 'Ali al-Tabari, without modifying his position to any great extent (155).

Nevertheless, from the material presented, one could question whether the author of the "Book of Religion and Empire" is 'Ali al-Tabari or some other Muslim who intended to complement the "Refutation of Christians" (156).

iii) The mistake of Peeters and Bouyges

In fact, both Peeters and Bouyges were wrong. The document is authentic, and the manuscript is from the thirteenth century. Henry Guppy, Director of the John Rylands Library, replied to Bouyges in an article of the *Bulletin*, entitled: 'The genuineness of Al-Tabari's Arabic "Apology"' (157). In the same year, on 21 May 1930, another famous orientalist, David Samuel Margoliouth, defended the work of his friend Mingana in a speech given at the British Academy (158).

The incomprehensible attitude of Peeters and Bouyges, both great scholars (159), can only be understood if we remember two facts. First, that Mingana had manipulated the text of the "Chronicle of Bar Hadbeshabba", as Chabot had established (160). Secondly, that Peeters was at that time discovering that the so-called "Chronicle of Arbela" too was a forgery of Mingana. He established that point

in the next volume of the *Analecta Bollandiana*, as we have already seen (161). So he was predisposed to believe that Mingana was fabricating some of the texts he was publishing, as we have already said (162). As for Bouyges, he was probably influenced by the authoritative opinion of P Peeters.

iv) The revenge of History

History is sometimes ironic.

Some years later, two other Jesuits of Beirut, Father Ignace-'Abdo Khalifé (now Maronite Bishop of Sydney) and Wilhelm Kutsch published another important text of 'Ali Ibn Rabban al-Tabari, his "Refutation of the Christians" (*al-Radd 'ala l-Nasara*), discovered a few years before by Bouyges. This new book confirms the authenticity of the previous work, and is quoted by the "Book of Religion and Empire". The two editors published it in the same Journal in which Father Bouyges, some thirty years earlier, had denied its authenticity, but they maintained the position of Bouyges (163).

The only manuscript of this 'Refutation' being incomplete, it was my pleasure to discover an "Answer to the Refutation of the Christians of 'Ali al-Tabari" written by the Coptic apologist al-Safi Ibn al-'Assal, an answer which give us a more complete version of the Refutation. I published the first part of it some years ago in Beirut (164), and have prepared the critical edition of the whole text.

b) The apology of Timothy I (1928)

I mentioned earlier (165) that Mingana started in 1927 a series of books called "Woodbrooke Studies", and we shall examine this series in a moment (166). Volume two of this series, published in 1928, contains a very important text in Syriac: Timothy's Apology for Christianity, in the presence of the Caliph al-Mahdi.

This Apology is unanimously considered to be authentic, the discussion having taken place in Baghdad in 781. Timothy is one of the greatest East Syriac Patriarchs (from 780 to 823), and al-Mahdi is known for his openness to religious subjects. The discussion obviously took place in Arabic, but the report written by the Patriarch himself (in a letter to the monk Sergius) was in Syriac. Later on, we find two different Arabic reports, probably based on the Syriac one. The longer Arabic report had already been published by Fr Louis Cheikho SJ in 1921 in Beirut (167), and I published it again in 1977 (168). Some years ago, Fr Robert Caspar WF published a shorter report in the form of Questions and Answers (169), which is older than the longer version published by Cheikho and myself. To my knowledge, this debate-apology is the most complete and interesting apology for Christianity ever to have been documented in the Arab world.

Timothy is very clever and very respectful of the Islamic faith. Like most Arab apologists, he knows the Qur'ân and the Muslim faith quite well, and he understands the sensibilities of Muslims. Some of the pages he wrote are constantly used by Christians (and even by Muslims) in today's dialogue, if not always in the way he intended.

I will read just one page of this dialogue, the one concerning Muhammad (170):

> And our gracious and wise King said to me: "What do you say about Muhammad?" – And I replied to his Majesty:
>
> "Muhammad is worthy of all praise, by all reasonable people, O my Sovereign. He walked in the path of the prophets, and trod in the track of the lovers of God. All prophets taught the doctrine of one God, and since Muhammad taught the doctrine of the unity of God, he walked, therefore, in the path of the prophets. Further, all the prophets drove men away from bad works, and brought them nearer to good works, and since Muhammad drove his people away from bad works and brought them nearer to good ones, he walked, therefore, in the path of the prophets. Again, all the prophets separated men from idolatry and polytheism, and attached them to God and to His cult, and since Muhammad separated his people from idolatry and polytheism, and attached them to the cult and the knowledge of one God, beside whom there is no other God, it is obvious that he walked in the path of the prophets. Finally Muhammad taught about God, His Word and His Spirit, and since all the prophets had prophesied about God, His Word and His Spirit, Muhammad walked, therefore, in the path of all prophets.
>
> "Who will not praise, honour and exalt the one who not only fought for God in words, but showed also his zeal for Him in the sword? As Moses did with the Children of Israel when he saw that they had fashioned a golden calf which they worshipped, and killed all of those who were worshipping it, so also Muhammad evinced an ardent zeal towards God, and loved and honoured Him more than his own soul, his people and his relatives. He praised, honoured and exalted those who worshipped God with him, and promised them kingdom, praise and honour from God, both in this world and in the world to come in the Garden.* But those who worshipped idols and not God he fought and opposed, and showed to them the torments of hell and of the fire which is never quenched and in which all evildoers burn eternally.
>
> * The Paradise of the Kur'ân.
>
> "And what Abraham, that friend and beloved of God, did in turning his face from idols and from his kinsmen, and looking only towards one God and becoming the preacher of one God to other peoples, this also Muhammad did. He turned his face from idols and their worshippers, whether those idols were those of his own kinsmen or of strangers, and he honoured and worshipped only one God. (...). Who will not praise, O our victorious King, the one whom God has praised, and will not weave a crown of glory and majesty to the one whom God has glorified and exalted? These and similar things I and all God-lovers utter about Muhammad, O my Sovereign."
>
> And our King said to me: "You should, therefore, accept the words of the Prophet." – And I replied to his gracious Majesty: "Which words of his our victorious King believes that I must accept?" – And our King said to me: "That God is one and that there is no other one besides Him." – And I replied: "This belief in one God, O my Sovereign, I have learned from the Torah, from the Prophets and from the Gospel. I stand by it and shall die in it."

Timothy means: this is not a peculiarity of Islam. It is common to all monotheists: Jews, Christians and Muslims. His position is very balanced: Muhammad 'walked in the path of the prophets', but he never said that he was a prophet. For reasons he explains elsewhere in this dialogue, he cannot recognise Muhammad as a prophet.

5. THE MINGANA COLLECTION OF MSS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR SELLY OAK COLLEGES

If we undertook a sociological enquiry among orientalists, I imagine that the "Mingana Collection" of manuscripts would be far more widely known than the "Selly Oak Colleges". How was this Collection constituted, and what is the relationship between the Collection and the Colleges?

a) Collecting manuscripts in the Middle East (1924-1929)

> 'In 1924 began the remarkable alliance of Mingana's unique combination of talents (his scholarship, his ability as a linguist, his knowledge of the East, and his flair for collecting) with the munificence and understanding patronage of Dr Edward Cadbury, Chairman of the Central Council of the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham' (171).

Mingana undertook, at Dr Cadbury's expense, three expeditions in search of manuscripts.

The first was in the spring of 1924, mainly to the Mosul district. He travelled from Beirut to Aleppo, Mosul, Sulaimania and Hamadan. He bought for the John Rylands Library 22 Arabic and some Syriac manuscripts; and for Dr Cadbury a few Syriac manuscripts, which formed the nucleus of the Mingana Collection.

The second was in the autumn of 1925, mainly in Kurdistan and Upper Mesopotamia. He travelled through Damascus, Baghdad, Kermanshah, Mosul, and south Kurdistan. He bought a considerable number of Syriac manuscripts for Dr Cadbury, and some Arabic manuscripts.

The third expedition was in 1929, mainly in Egypt. He visited the Sinai Peninsula, bringing back a precious collection of Arabic parchments; and Upper Egypt as far as the Third Cataract, acquiring a lot of Arabic Islamic manuscripts, and some others (Coptic, Greek, etc).

The value of this collection is enormous. The Syriac section, with its 662 manuscripts, rates third in the West, after the British Library and the Vatican Library. The Christian Arabic section is surpassed in the West only by the Vatican Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. The Islamic Arabic section is large and noteworthy.

Many of these manuscripts are unique copies of hitherto unknown texts. Some of them are autographs (written by the authors themselves, and therefore surer than any other copy), like the *Khitat of Maqrizi.* Other manuscripts are the earliest known copies of a text, like Tirmidhi's Traditions. In the Christian Arabic collection, the parchments from the 8th to the 10th centuries are only surpassed by those of the Saint Catherine's Library of Sinai.

b) A safe building and a curator for the manuscripts (1924-1926)

i) Creation of the "Mingana Collection" (1924)

After the first expedition (1924), the Woodbrooke Council, meeting on the 14 November 1924, wrote this acknowledgement:

> 'We have received the offer of a splendid collection of Syriac and other MSS, which will hereafter be known as the "Mingana Collection".
>
> 'We wish to record our heartiest thanks to the friends responsible for this magnificent gift (172), the discoveries of an old Woodbrooke student (173) to whose learning and courage the world of scholarship is indebted' (174).

In October 1924, George Cadbury Jr (brother of Edward Cadbury) bought Rokesley House (the present Gillett Centre), and made financial arrangements for it to be used for a Central Library, with offices and classrooms. This first Central Library was opened on 9 October 1925, by Sir Frederick Kenyon, director and principal librarian of the British Museum, in the presence of more than 400 people. But they did not use it to house the Mingana Collection.

ii) A curator for the new collection (1926)

After Mingana's second expedition, and considering the great amount of manuscripts gathered by him for the Woodbrooke Settlement, the question of where to house them was raised by Rendel Harris, in a letter to Francis Sturge, the warden of Woodbrooke, dated 2 February 1926:

> 'My dear Friend, Francis Sturge,
>
> 'I shall be glad if the following considerations can be laid before the Woodbrooke Trustees at their next meeting, with reference to the impending extension of the Woodbrooke Library.
>
> 'It is known to a few, but by no means to all of those who have the care of Woodbrooke affairs, that there has recently been a great acquisition of MSS in Mesopotamia by our friend Dr Mingana; and that it is the intention of our friends Edward Cadbury and Dorothy Cadbury, with whom Dr Mingana has been co-operating, to present the results of this second expedition of Dr Mingana to the Woodbrooke Settlement, attaching them to the books which were accumulated on a former visit.
>
> 'The MSS in question comprise over 400 Syriac MSS and a few Arabic MSS. We must not speak very loud about Mingana's success; but it may be whispered among ourselves, without detriment to a quest which is not yet completed, that we have already more Syriac MSS than any Library in the world, except the British Museum; twice as many as the National Library at Paris, and as many as the combined universities of Oxford and Cambridge.
>
> 'We shall thus be raised at a stroke from a local and provincial position amongst scholars to a national, and even an international, rank. No such accretion to the material for Oriental scholarship has been made, since the British Government succeeded in raiding (*sic!*) the Nitrian Monasteries.

'It is evident that we cannot make a right use of this splendid discovery of Mingana and gift of Edward Cadbury, without a thorough reconsideration of the position of the Woodbrooke Library, and the responsibility attached to the ownership of such unexpected, and more than unexpected, treasures.

'I have therefore ventured to offer to the consideration of our Trustees some points which arise out of the aforesaid endowment.

'First of all, it will be obvious that (...) the collection and its subsequent accretions are not to be broken up or dispersed.

'Next, it is important that, if the books are deposited for safe keeping in the Rendel Harris Library (as is at present the case), an adequate legal instrument should be drawn up, affirming the Woodbrooke ownership, and securing right of removal at any time. (...)

'We come in the next place to the question of administration. The MSS and antiquities which are transferred to Woodbrooke should be altogether under the supervision, direction and care of the Woodbrooke Council, to whom the Trustees should recommend a person of sufficient learning and reputation to act as Curator of the Woodbrooke MSS. (...) It is understood that Dr Mingana will be the first Curator, and that the Trustees will have a scheme before them for the financial support of the Curator, as well as for the binding etc of the books, and the publication of a series of Woodbrooke Studies (175), more or less closely connected with the Library. In these latter tasks, I should be glad to be recognised, if it be practicable, as an assistant and supernumerary to Dr Mingana.

'Last of all (...), special care will have to be taken for the protection, as well as the preservation, of the MSS. Caution will be required in the access of outsiders to the Treasury in which the MSS are placed, and in the granting of leave to those persons who may wish to study particular MSS when the Curator has catalogued them.

'It will, of course, be possible to arrange for the occasional exhibition of selected MSS in a suitable show-case.

'It would be improper for me to conclude these remarks (...) without an expression of extreme thankfulness, for the help which we have found, both earthly and heavenly, in the arduous quest which is now coming to such a splendid conclusion. Dr Mingana will be the first to recite, along with those who have had the privilege of co-operating with him, the words of the Psalm: 'Non nobis, Domine, sed tibi gloria' (176).

I have quoted large extracts from this letter because of its importance. In it, we find the germ of the idea of what would become the Central Library of Selly Oak Colleges.

iii) 'We should make Mingana feel happy amongst us'

The next day, Edward Cadbury wrote to Rendel Harris a letter, from which I select some passages:

'With regard to Mingana's post as curator, I think it might be best to bring up the matter at the Settlement committee, which meets on Thursday 11 February, of which I believe thou art a member. (...)

'I am extremely anxious we should make Mingana feel happy and comfortable amongst us, and as thou knowest I am doing my best in regard to this. At the same time, I have to be very careful not to cause any friction among our friends in the other Colleges. I know thou takest a great interest in these Colleges, being a good deal instrumental to some extent in starting Kingsmead and Carey Hall, and I believe thou wast first Chairman of the Committee at Fircroft. They are all doing good work, and while I think we are quite clear what we want, and we are all agreed as to the end we have in view, we must (in our statement to the other Colleges) endeavour to put it in such a way that they will not feel we have any lack of confidence in them. Thine sincerely' (177).

c) The new Central Library (1926-1932)

i) The project of building a new Central Library

Two days later, 5 February, J W Hoyland of Kingsmead wrote to Edward Cadbury:

'(...) The immediate difficulty we have to face is how to combine the interests of the Woodbrooke Trustees with those of the Selly Oak Colleges Trustees. (...) It almost looks as though a separate strong room would be necessary if the other part of the Library is likely to have treasures which will need such protection. It will never do to give anyone but Rendel and Mingana access to this new collection' (178).

On 8 February, George Cadbury Jr (the brother of Edward Cadbury) wrote to Francis Sturge:

'(...) It seems to me that the possession of such a valuable collection at once raises the question of their proper custody and final disposal. These Manuscripts might (I think) be regarded as a National possession, and both the constitution and the functions of the Woodbrooke Trustees hardly seem to me to be wide enough for this purpose.

'I think, therefore, that they should consider the formation of a proper Trust, in the first place to have the custody of these Manuscripts and their future care and use, and that such a Trust should include, among others, representatives of the Woodbrooke Trustees, of the Selly Oak Colleges, the donors, the Birmingham University, and possibly a representative of either Oxford or Cambridge. I think we should contemplate for their more permanent safeguarding by connecting the Trust with some such public bodies as the Universities.

'It will be necessary also to approach the Selly Oak Colleges Trust to ask them also to give the books they own at the Rendel Harris Library to the New Library Trust, so that the whole of the present Library may be kept intact.

'(...) Undoubtedly, the time will soon arrive when a special building will have to be built to house these Manuscripts, and I should hope the Rendel Harris Library as well. I shall be very glad if part of the land purchased 18 months ago, in connection with Rokesley, could be made available for the site of such a Library. The Deeds have not yet been finally settled with the BVT (= Bournville Village Trust), and now would appear to be a favourable opportunity for the proper layout of the whole site. (...)

'It has seemed to me for some time that if any further building should take place, it will be more appropriate to build a new library, and release the present library for class rooms, rather than building new class rooms, for the use of the Central Colleges' (179).

This remark of George Cadbury Jr is very interesting. The Central Library had just been opened on 9 October 1925, as we have seen (ie less than 4 months before this letter), and he is already thinking of the necessity of a new and more appropriate building.

ii) The new Central Library

It is amazing how rapidly things were developing. In less than a week, the whole project was elaborated: a new Library had to be built, to house the Rendel Harris Library and above all the Mingana collection of manuscripts.

The project could take some time to be concretely realised. Mingana's third expedition, in 1929, increased the number of manuscripts and made more urgent the construction of a new building.

On 19 June 1931, Edward Cadbury wrote a note to Francis Sturge:

> 'With regard to the discussion on the Woodbrooke Library, I want the Trustees to have it on record that I desire the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, for which I am building accommodation at the Central Library, to be kept in that Library and not removed to Woodbrooke' (180).

On 25 April 1932, the Central Library was inaugurated by Edward and Dorothy Cadbury, "ad maiorem Dei gloriam" as the plaque in the entrance of the Library says. Mrs Dorothy Cadbury pronounced these words:

> 'Benedictus benedicat. My husband and I have much pleasure in giving this building to the Selly Oak Colleges. It is our earnest hope for all who use this Library, a fuller knowledge may be acquired, and with it a deeper reverence' (181).

If we enjoy the Central Library today, it is certainly due to the generosity and intelligence of the Cadburys, but it is also due to a certain Alphonse Mingana who collected over 2000 oriental manuscripts!

6. BACK TO WOODBROOKE (1932-1937)

Now that the new Library was built and that the Mingana Collection was in security, Mingana had to come back to Woodbrooke to be curator of his own collection. The cataloguing of the oriental manuscripts of the John Rylands Library was finished, and the large volume was given to the printer. Mingana was free. He bought a house in Kings Norton, Birmingham, at 168 Middleton Hall Road.

a) Cataloguing his Collection

He came back in 1932 and immediately began cataloguing his collection. In 1933 the first volume appeared, with a description of 606 Syriac and Garshûni manuscripts: all together 1256 columns in-quarto. In 1936 the second volume appeared, with 120 Christian Arabic manuscripts and 16 additional Syriac manuscripts. Finally in 1939 (after his death), volume 3 appeared, with the description of 152 Christian Arabic manuscripts (mainly fragments, often on parchment bought in Sinai) and 40 additional Syriac manuscripts. For Christian Oriental studies these three volumes are of the highest importance.

Mingana 'has regarded the description of the materials which he had amassed as sufficient occupation for a lifetime: into a career which terminated in middle life, he had crowded work which might well have occupied several lifetimes of longer duration' (182).

b) "Woodbrooke Studies" and "Woodbrooke Scientific Publications"

On 2 February 1926, Rendel Harris had suggested the creation of a series called "Woodbrooke Studies". Mingana, while in Manchester, brought this project to fruition, thanks to the generosity of Edward Cadbury. In 1927, he gathered five studies just published in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library and circulated them in one volume of about 300 pages, entitled: "Woodbrooke Studies. Christian documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshûni, edited and translated". Between 1929 and 1934 six more volumes of documents were published.

The next year, following the same method, he published volume 2 with three documents, totalling 336 pages, the first of these documents being the very important text of "Timothy's Apology". In 1931 volumes 3 and 4 appeared in the same format. Volume 5 appeared in 1932, volume 6 in 1933 and volume 7 in 1934. For some reason, Mingana decided to stop this collection here.

The next year, in 1935, he started a new series entitled: "Woodbrooke Scientific Publications", with a large volume of 518 pages: "Book of Treasures" by Job of Edessa, which is a Syriac Encyclopaedia of philosophical and natural sciences as taught in Baghdad about AD 817. It is a very important publication, in a new area, which deserves more study.

c) Death and a friend's testimony

By now, Mingana was much too busy with the catalogue of his collection to pursue this new series. He finished the third and last volume of the Christian manuscripts of the Mingana Collection, but did not see it printed. He died on 5 December 1937. He was almost 59.

Mingana had a passion for manuscripts. G Woledge who was a friend of his and an admirer, said in conclusion to his Obituary:

> 'These qualities (of Mingana) were reinforced by an unquenchable ardour for his subject and a schoolboyish zeal for collecting – enthusiasms which led him to name his house 'Manuscripta', and which might have made him seem ridiculous, but for his patent sincerity. He had none of the vanity which leads most of us to conceal our vanity, and he shared his triumphs joyously and generously with his friends. His single-minded devotion to his work excluded any other sustained occupation or hobby; but it could not check the warmth of his interest in the humbler affairs of his friends' (183).

7. CONCLUSIONS

If we survey the life and work of Mingana, we can make some useful deductions.

a) Mosul as an ecclesiastical milieu at the beginning of the century

The education Mingana received in the Mosul Seminary was not so bad. There he prepared himself for the whole of life, at the scientific level with a very good knowledge of many languages (Oriental and Western), a good knowledge of Church History, Christian doctrine and Islam. Above all, he acquired an enormous interest (a love, we could say) for his Syriac tradition and language, probably thanks to his teacher Qass Awgin Manna. Finally, he acquired a scientific discipline and a good methodology, which would allow him to enter into the world of orientalists without too much difficulty.

One should appreciate the scientific openness of the Seminary. His teachers encouraged him to study and publish (a very first publication for a young Catholic priest) the works of a well-known Nestorian theologian, Narsai of Nisibis. The Dominican Fathers, responsible for the Seminary and for the Press, supported him constantly in his scientific enterprise.

However, he would not meet the same openness in his own Chaldean Church. The Patriarch was upset by the way Mingana contested the historicity of the foundation of the patriarcal See by Mari the Apostle. This was for the patriarch a sensitive point admitting of no discussion or question. Similarly, the young priest was not supported by his colleagues or friends, when he had troubles with the patriarch and needed support in the difficult years 1907-1913.

Light and shadow in the early twentieth century ecclesiastical Mosul!

b) Mingana, a man with ambitious projects and wide horizons

From the very beginning, Mingana had ambitious projects. In 1905, at the age of 26, he published two large volumes in Syriac. Two years later, he initiated a series he called ‘Syriac Sources’, and gave two volumes to the press. Unfortunately, the crisis he met interrupted this magnificent ‘élan’. This is remarkable for a young man; instead of starting with small articles and notes, he jumped immediately into big projects of many volumes.

During his whole life, we can discern this attitude, moved by a great zeal for promoting Syriac. Think of the great Catalogues of manuscripts he wrote, of the seven volumes of “Woodbrooke Studies”, of the new series launched under the name of “Woodbrooke Scientific Publications”.

We can better understand this attitude if we put Mingana in the Catholic historical context of French scholarship. The Abbé Jean-Paul Migne had completed (some twenty years before) one of his immense projects, publishing almost 400 volumes

in-quarto of Church Fathers, in the famous *Patrologia Latina* (222 volumes) and *Patrologia Graeca* (168 volumes), not to speak of many other publications exceeding these two projects in volume. In 1897, Abbé René Graffin (1858-1941) published the first volume of his *Patrologia Syriaca*, as a complement to Migne's Patrologies (184). But volume 2 of it appeared only in 1907 (the same year as Mingana's "Sources Syriaques"), and volume 3 in 1927.

In 1903, two new Oriental Christian series appeared in Paris (and are still in process): the *Patrologia Orientalis* by Abbé Graffin and Abbé François Nau (1864-1931) (185); and the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* by Abbé Jean-Baptiste Chabot, the very one with whom Mingana had a controversy (186), all of them Syriacists. In 1905, 11 fascicules appeared of the PO, but only two of them were Syriac; and in the same year 9 Syriac fascicules appeared in the CSCO, out of 29.

Mingana may have thought he could carry out such a big project better than these orientalists, by concentrating his attention on Syriac texts. In a way he was right. But he was too unrealistic. One man alone could not complete such a big project. Migne may have succeeded in achieving it for Greek and Latin, but the state of Oriental Christian studies was much too backward to make such a plan feasible . . . and is so still, unfortunately, so!

c) Mingana as western-eastern scholar

This expression is from Willem Cornelis van Unnik, a well-known Syriacist who published some studies in the same fields as Mingana, according to Mingana's biographers:

> 'Dr W C van Unnik, who worked at the Mingana Collection in Selly Oak, acknowledges the way in which "this Western-Eastern scholar" had brought the East near to him' (187).

i) The double education

Mingana had a double education. From the East he had this living knowledge of the Syriac tradition, and of the languages and mentality of Eastern peoples; he could feel the language and what lies behind the words. But he had also received a very good Western education, from the time he was 12 in Mosul, thanks to the French Dominicans. It is this combination of the two elements which enabled Mingana to be a good scholar, and to make Syriac studies attractive to Western people.

This experience of Mingana is illuminating for us in the Selly Oak Colleges. It is by giving this double education that we can be useful. The Islam Centre, for example, offers to many Muslim students and scholars the possibility of studying their own tradition in a more rigorous and detached way than they could in their own country. Even if these Muslims may know more about Islam from inside than their teachers, it is not the same kind of knowledge.

ii) Role of Selly Oak for Oriental Christians and in Britain

Unfortunately, the tradition inaugurated here in the Selly Oak Colleges by Mingana has totally lapsed. I mean the academic study of the Christian Oriental tradition. This could be forgiven anywhere else, but not in Selly Oak. This lack is really not understandable, because it is an explicit part of the purpose of the Library, as expressed in a report from October 1947:

> 'The Selly Oak Colleges Library serves the day to day needs of the students of the associated colleges at Selly Oak. It aims also at providing facilities for advanced work in missionary and Oriental studies' (188).

My hope is that this public lecture may push the Federation to examine seriously the question of a permanent Oriental fellowship for teaching, research and publication on Oriental Christianity. Byzantine and Slavic studies can be found in many institutions in Britain, Syriac studies are not absent (for instance in Oxford and Cambridge), but Arab Christian studies and Coptic studies seem to be totally unrepresented in this country. Would it not be a great "mission" for Selly Oak to promote these studies, not occasionally, but in a permanently structured way?

iii) Meaning of the present Conference

The Conference on Christian Arabic Apologetic Texts, organised by two institutions of the Federation (The Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations and Woodbrooke College) has this aim: to create more academic interest in Arab Christianity and its importance (historically and at the present time) in Muslim-Christian dialogue.

Let me clarify this. In the last decade, some hundreds of meetings on Christian-Muslim relations have taken place. These meetings are usually very nice: people meet for some days and talk together. Everyone is happy, and goes home with more hope for the future. Sometimes these meetings are simply 'wind', just talk.

What is worse is that these meetings are often (not always, fortunately!) ambiguous, if not confusing. Why? Because they compare two religions in different sociological, cultural, political and economic contexts. Christians are Western, and Muslims are in fact Eastern. Is it a religious dialogue, or a cultural or political one? Sometimes it is a socio-economic dialogue, where Christians seek to defend émigrés or Third World workers.

The advantage of Arab Christians is that they share the same language, the same culture, the same tradition, in a word the same life and the same background, with Arab Muslims. The only difference is in their religion. In this case, dialogue (even if it is sometimes hard) is more authentic.

If this Conference proves positive, one could plan for other similar Conferences. For instance on both Islamic and Christian Apologetics (in a given period); or on Copts and Muslims, in thought and history, in a given period. For such a Conference, it would be necessary to have Oriental Christians and Muslims, and not only orientalists.

The publication of the proceedings could encourage some scholar to deepen some aspect touched on in the Conference.

Above all, such a Conference (especially if it became regular, let us say once every two or three years) could prepare the way for the creation of a small centre for research on Oriental (or Arab) Christianity, until the day comes when we will have a real successor to Alphonse Mingana, someone able to teach and make research in Arab Christian or Syriac studies in connexion with Islam.

d) Conclusion

The aim of Mingana was to make the Oriental Christian tradition, so rich but so much ignored, known to Eastern as well as to Western students. He did it by all possible means, first of all by publishing these treasures of his Collection, with translations and studies. By doing so, he intended (I believe) to help the West to have a better understanding of what Christianity really is.

Christianity is alas often identified with the West. Now my personal impression is that the West is going through a deep identity crisis, with a conscious or unconscious rejection of its origins.

Moreover it seems that Christianity too is going through a deep crisis. Christians are losing their identity. They often do not know what it means to be Christian, and at best Christianity is becoming a private matter. The society is secular, even if most citizens are Christians. That is why few people feel that there is a Christian culture, although we need the support of a Christian environment to live our faith.

In the East, the Christian feeling of belonging to a community of believers is still strong. I have a deep-seated conviction that Western Christianity could rediscover a lot of its own reality and identity through a better knowledge of the Christianity of the East, which is, after all, the cradle of Christianity as a whole.

NOTES

1 My encounter with Marie Mingana was arranged by Jeph and Margaret Gillett (Beacon Cottage) and Ruth Conway. We met for many hours, first at Beacon Cottage, then at the Selly Oak Colleges where the Mingana Collection is housed. Later, she sent me some documents, and we spoke on different occasions on the telephone. I am grateful to all these people, and particularly to Miss Marie Mingana for her extreme kindness.

2 The 7 English biographies of Mingana I have seen fix his birth year as 1881, as does MACUCH (p 409). VOSTE (p 515-6) has rectified this mistake, on the basis of the ordination date (1902). He would have been just a little more than 20, which is impossible according to Catholic canon law which requires at least 24 years (exceptions are rare and do not go beyond 18 months). Even if born in 1878, he would have needed, in principle, a dispensation for the few months lacking. Many people in the East (especially at that time) did not know their age.

3 However, in the Ottoman Attestation issued in 1325 AH (between 14 February 1907 and 3 February 1908), a copy of which Marie Mingana kindly sent me, the date of birth is '1301', which means between 2 November 1883 and 20 October 1884. If the 23 December is correct, Hurmiz would be born in 1883, which is absolutely incompatible with the date of ordination. Since this date is the only sure one, we have to correct all previous dates.

This certificate is not the birth certificate, but a simple '*Tazkarah Sîder*', a certificate or attestation. The information found in it could have been given by Qass Alphonse himself. The dates being all in Hijrah, it was easy to make a mistake.

4 In the Ottoman Attestation, we read something like '*Sharânsh Nasârâ*', without *al-*.

5 See for instance MW*, p 1, line 11. (For * see page 52 below.)

6 VOSTE, p 515, lines 6-10: 'Qas Paolos Mingana n'était donc pas "a landowner" ou propriétaire foncier, mais un modeste paysan chaldéen, qui avait, comme tous ses semblables, un lot de terrain en ce pays aride où la terre n'a pas grande valeur'. [Tr: 'Qass Paulus Mingana was thus not "a landowner" but a modest Chaldean farmer who possessed, like all his neighbours, a certain amount of ground in that arid countryside where the ground as such is of no great value.']

7 This appears in the Ottoman Attestation. The name of Mingana's father is given as: Qass Bulus (or Pawlos).

8 This information is given by SAKO, p 292, note 3. His source is direct conversation with the people from Sharânsh.

9 In the Ottoman Attestation I read the name of his mother as being Buta (which could also be read as 'Bônâ'). In the English biography, the name is given as 'Marie Nanni' (MW, p 1, line 12). Finally, in SAKO's biography (p 292, line 3), the name is given as 'Nânô'.

10 This information was given to me, in Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, on 31 May 1990, by her niece Marie Mingana.

11 See SAKO, p 293, note 5.

12 MW, p 1, lines 14-16.

13 See VOSTE, p 515.

14 He taught Hebrew to the theologians immediately after his arrival in Birmingham, in 1913 (see MW, p 2, line 22). This is why I assume that he learned it in the Seminary.

15 See MACUCH, p 407-8 (with bibliography).

16 MACUCH, p 408, lines 11-12.

17 On Addaï Scher (1867-1915), see MACUCH, p 402-5.

18 I have no further information about this bishop.

19 See MW, p 1, lines 26-8.

20 One is rather surprised to hear that at the beginning of this century so many Syriac manuscripts on vellum were available in the Mosul area.

21 For this paragraph, see VOSTE, p 517-8.

22 See for instance MW, p 1, line 24.

23 See MACUCH, p 410, lines 1-2.

24 This is what was suggested by Fr Alphonse Raes SJ to G Woledge. See MW, p 9.

25 Mingana himself, in the list he furnished to *Who Was Who*, III (1929-40) (published in 1947), said that he 'supervised the *Officium juxta ritum Syrorum Orientalium,* 3 volumes (1903-10)'. Unfortunately, no trace of these volumes have been found in the various libraries, and the research undertaken (at the request of G Woledge) by Professors Paul Kahle, Willy Heffening and Alphonse Raes SJ produced no evidence of them anywhere. See MW, p 9.

26 Abbé Alphonse MINGANA, *Clef de la langue araméenne, ou Grammaire complète et pratique des deux dialectes syriaques occidental et oriental* (Mosul: Dominican Press, 1905), XVI + 197 pages (with paradigms and bibliography). The copy in the Selly Oak Colleges Library has this dedication to Rendel Harris, written by Mingana: 'In testimonium grati et devotissimi animi' (to be compared with the dedication of Narsai's volumes to the Dominicans, mentioned in note 23). An identical dedication is to be found in each one of the two volumes on Narsai.

27 *Ibidem*, p IV.

28 *Narsai doctoris syri homiliae et carmina primo edita, cura et studio D Alphonsi Mingana, cum praefatione editoris* (Mosul: Dominican Press, 1905, LX + 370 pages, and 412 pages.

29 For the bibliography on Narsai, see for instance Ignatius ORTIZ DE URBINA SI, *Patrologia Syriaca* (2nd ed, Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1965), p 115-8; to be completed by Sebastian BROCK, Syriac Studies 1960-70. A classified bibliography, in *Parole de l'Orient* 4 (1973), 447-8; 10 (1981-2), 386; 14 (1987), 340.

30 See note 29 (NARSAI), p 3 (the whole page).

31 NARSAI, p 38-9. For this question, see FIEY, p 274-9, section entitled (unfortunately): 'Sera-t-il Dieu, table ou cuvette?'. [Tr: 'Will it be God, table or basin?']

32 See Addaï SCHER, *La cause de la fondation des écoles, par Mar BARHADBESABBA 'ARBAYA, évêque de Halwan, coll. Patrologia Orientalis*, IV 4 (= actual number 18) (Paris 1907), p 314-97.

33 On Chabot, see G RYCKMANS, Jean-Baptiste Chabot, in *Le Muséon* 61 (1948) 141-52; Gustave BARDY, art Chabot, in *Catholicisme* 2 (196-) 855; T PETERSEN, art Chabot, Jean-Baptiste, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 3 (1967) 420 b.

34 See Jean-Baptiste CHABOT, Narsai le Docteur et les origines de l'école de Nisibe, in *Journal Asiatique,* 10e série, vol 6 (juillet-août 1905), p 157-77.

35 'Hic magna lacuna adest in codice nostro' (NARSAI, p 38).

36 CHABOT (see note 34), p 173. This text is partially cited by Mingana in his Réponse, p 18.

37 The pamphlet is not dated. The date is indicated in Addaï Scher's publication (see note 33), on page 320.

38 See MINGANA, Reponse à Chabot, p 3: 'Ce compte rendu, sauf quelques lignes consacrées à résumer très sommairement ma préface, ne comprend que la traduction française, avec notes et appréciation critique, d'un fragment de Barhadhbsabba, auteur du commencement du VIIe siécle que j'ai inséré en tête du premier volume'. [Tr: 'This review, apart from a few lines devoted to a brief summary of my Preface, only deals with the French translation, with notes and a critical appreciation, of a fragment by Bar Hadbeshabba, an author of the beginning of the 7th century, which I inserted at the outset of the first volume.']

39 There is here a clear allusion to some deacon who helped Chabot, but I do not know whom he meant.

40 I cite this text from FIEY (p 272) who gives a reference to MINGANA, Réponse à Chabot, p 16. But I have not found this text on p 14-9.

41 On Aphram Barsaum, see MACUCH, p 441-5.

42 Marie Mingana informed me that Bishop Barsaum visited her father twice in Manchester, which means when he was not yet patriarch (he was elected patriarch on 30 December 1933). They spoke together in French, because of the presence of Emma-Sophie, the wife of Mingana. It is probable that when they were alone they spoke Arabic and Syriac. She said Bishop Barsaum was the only Iraqi with whom her father had contact.

43 See Afram I BARSAWM, *Al-Lu'lu' al-manthur fi tarikh al-ùlum wa-l-adâb al-suryaniyyah* (3rd edition, Baghdad, 1976), p 476-84.

44 *Ibidem*, p 483.

45 See for instance his explanation of the two Narsai (on p 15), and that of the elevation of Ishòyahb to the patriarchal seat (on p 16).

46 MINGANA, *Narsai*, p 40.

47 See MINGANA, *Mshiha-Zkha* (Mosul and Leipzig 1907), p VII, lines 5-9: 'Le manuscrit dont nous donnons ici le texte et la traduction (...) nous permettra de redresser maintes erreurs ayant encore cours dans les travaux de nos syrologues modernes' [Tr: 'The manuscript whose text and translation we here publish (...) will allow us to correct many of the errors still at large in the works of our modern Syrologists']; and p VIII: 'Les syrologues modernes semblent identifier et confondre les trois historiens'. [Tr: 'Modern Syrologists appear to identify and thus confuse the three historians.']

48 MINGANA, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of manuscripts...*, vol I, Syriac and Garshûni Manuscripts (Cambridge: W Heffer and Sons, 1933), p VI. The underlining is mine. To be honest, the catalogues of Mingana (whether those of the John Rylands Library or of his collection) are rather cumbersome, because of their space-consuming format.

49 SCHER (see note 33).

50 SCHER (see note 33), p 323-4.

51 François NAU, *La seconde partie de l'Histoire de Barhadbesabba 'Arbaya et une controverse de Théodore de Mopsueste avec les Macédoniens, in Patrologia Orientalis* IX.5 (= actual number 45) (Paris 1913, 190 pages).

52 MINGANA, Bibliography 5.

52b On this copyist and minor author, see Khalil SAMIR, Un auteur chaldéen oublié: Abraham Simon Sekwana (1849-1931), in *Oriens Christianus* 66 (1982) 215-7; and Hubert KAUFHOLD, Einige ergänzende Bemerkungen über Abraham Sekwana, in *Oriens Christianus* 67 (1983) 208-11.

53 Eduard SACHAU, *Die Chronik von Arbela. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des ältesten Christentums im Orient,* coll. "Abhandlungen der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften". Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Nr 6 (Berlin, 1915), 94 pages.

54 Franz ZORELL, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Arbalensis. Ex idiomate syriaco in latinum vertit,* coll. "Orientalia Christiana" 31 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1927, 64 pages).

55 All these studies are mentioned in Ignatius ORTIZ DE URBINA, *Patrologia Syriaca,* 2nd ed (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1965), p 210-1.

56 See Julius ASSFALG, Zur Textüberlieferung der Chronik von Arbela. Beobachtungen zu Ms. or. fol. 3126, in *Oriens Christianus* 50 (1966) 19-36.

57 These four students are mentioned in FIEY, p 280, note 51.

58 See FIEY, p 280-302.

59 Peter KAWERAU, *Die Chronik von Arbela,* coll. CSCO 467 and 468 (Louvain 1985).

60 See Paul PEETERS, Le "Passionnaire d'Adiabène", in *Analecta Bollandiana* 43 (1925) 497-510.

61 See Peter KAWERAU (supra, note 59). CSCO 468, p 11.

62 See VOSTE, p 517.

63 See Julius ASSFALG, Syrische Handschriften (Berlin, 1963), pl. III.

64 See FIEY, p 284-5.

65 See BARSAUM (note 43).

66 He writes in Arabic *H'YS'*, which does not correspond to any Syriacist. I suppose that the *Y* is a misprint (easy before an S), and that the author's manuscript had: *Hås*. He probably alluded to Felix Haase, whose (incomplete) bibliography can be found in Cyril MOSS, *Catalogue of Syriac printed books and related literature* (London: British Museum, 1962, col. 444-5.

67 For the Syriac production of Martin Sprengling, see MOSS, col. 1033-4.

68 For the Syriac production of William Creighton Graham, see MOSS (note 66, above), col. 424.

69 The restriction added by Patriarch Aphram Barsaum to Mingana's name is very clear. Friendship dictated this discretion, but, as we say in Arabic: *Al-labîb bi-l-isharah yafham!* One will note also that Mingana is classified with the Orientalists (*mustashrigun*).

70 BARSAUM (see note 43), p 484, lines 13-4.

71 See FIEY, p 302. Note that Fiey reproduces the conclusion of Peeters with regard to the History of the Turks we find in the Letter of Philoxenus to Abu 'Afar (see section 32).

72 See the three letters of Father Dumini, OP, regarding this question, preserved in the Archives of the Apostolic Delegation in Baghdad, and published by FIEY, p 301, note 160.

73 MINGANA, *Mshiha-Zkha*, p 78, note 1.

74 MINGANA, Bibliography 5.

75 See VOSTE, p 517.

76 See the first letter of Father Dumini, dated 12 November 1907, in FIEY, p 301, note 160.

77 See VOSTE, p 517: '. . . le fit parvenir en Angleterre, où Qas Alphonse avait naguère désiré se faire moine catholique, n'ayant aucune aptitude pour la predication à cause d'un défaut de langue'. [Tr: '. . . reached England, where Qass Alphonse had once wished to become a Catholic monk, since with his speech defect he had no aptitude for preaching.'] Having asked Jeph and Margaret Gillett, and Marie Mingana, if they noticed any speech defect in Mingana, their answer was negative (with the exception of the pronunciation of the R, which was peculiar, said Mrs Margaret Gillett). I do not know how to interpret the assertion of Voste.

78 See MW, p 3, lines 15-7.

79 MW, p 2, lines 4-6.

80 I have not been able to identify this Pastor. (Possibly F A Andrus is meant).

81 Information given by Marie Mingana, who was told this by her father.

82 Information given by Mrs Margaret Gillett, on 31 May 1990.

83 MW, p 2, lines 20-2.

84 The date is given at the end of the second article: 'Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, 13 July 1913' (p 190 of the article mentioned in next note).

85 MINGANA, Bibliography 9.

86 See J Rendel HARRIS, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, now first published from the Syriac version (Cambridge, 1909).

87 See MINGANA, Bibliography 9, p 234: 'Le livre "*The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*" excita en effet, au plus haut point, l'attention des érudits, et l'on peut compter aujourd'hui une centaine de mémoires qui parlent, plus ou moins amplement, de cette savoureuse et antique élucubration placée sous le nom biblique de Salomon'. [Tr: 'The book *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon* succeeded to the highest degree in arousing the interest of scholars, and one can today count at least a hundred articles which deal more or less fully with this fragrant and ancient work of scholarship assigned to the biblical Solomon.']

88 See Francis Crawford BURKITT, *A new MS of the Odes of Solomon*, in the *Journal of Theological Studies* 13 (1912), p 372-85. On F C Burkitt (1864-1935), see J F BETHUNE-BAKER, art. *Burkitt, Francis Crawford,* in *The Dictionary of National Biography 1931-1940*, ed L G Wickham LEGG (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), p 124a-5b.

89 MINGANA, Bibliography 21.

90 Here is the text of the note: 'The publication of his work having curiously coincided with 27 May 1920 the author is glad to make an homage of it to the happy ceremony held on that date at Sutton, Surrey, at 2.30 pm.' Signed: A Mingana.

91 On these two ladies, see A Whigham PRICE, *The Ladies of Castlebrae*. The life of Dr Agnes Smith Lewis and Dr Margaret Dunlop Gibson of Cambridge (Durham: College of the Venerable Bede, 1964, 23 pages); and A Whigham PRICE, *The Ladies of Castlebrae.* A story of nineteenth-century travel and research (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1984; ISBN 0-86299-228-1, XIV + 242 pages).

On p 207-8, the author relates this collaboration in a rather imprecise way, starting by saying: 'In 1914 (*sic*), Agnes and her ex-monk (*sic*) friend Mingana collaborated in editing a work with the unexciting title of *Leaves from a three ancient Qur'âns, possibly Pre-Othmânic.* It is not a title-page to set the pulses beating, but it nevertheless created a stir in Islamic circles' (p 207).

And further: 'It was this work, coupled with Maggie's edition of the *Commentaries on Isho'dad of Merv*, which led, in June 1915, to the bestowal upon the twins of the coveted Triennial Gold Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society - the blue ribbon of Oriental research' (p 208).

92 MW, p 2, lines 28-9.

93 One can find a short and precise biography on Agnes Lewis (1843-1926) in *The Dictionary of National Biography 1922- 1930*, ed by J R H WEAVER (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), p 509a-10a, written by Francis Crawford BURKITT.

94 See Bibliography 7.

95 For a summary on this question, see A T WELCH, art. "Kur'ân", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed, 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), pp 400a-29a, spec. 404a-9b "History of the Kur'ân after 632".

96 A Whigham PRICE, *The Ladies of Castlebrae.* A story of nineteenth-century travel and research (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1984; ISBN 0-86299-228-1), p 208.

97 See Arthur J ARBERRY, *A second supplementary hand-list of the Muhammadan manuscripts in the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (Cambridge: University Press, 1952) p 25, No 152. He estimates the under-writing as being from the lst/7th century, with a '?'.

98 MW, p 2, lines 29-31.

99 See the *Catalogue of the Mingana collection of manuscripts*, vol IV – Islamic Arabic manuscripts, by H L GOTTSCHALK, J S TRIMINGHAM, A F L BEESTON and Derek HOPWOOD, revised edition edited by Derek HOPWOOD (Zug: IDC, 1985).

100 See MINGANA, Bibliography 6.

101 On David Samuel Margoliouth, see Gilbert MURRAY, *David Samuel Margoliouth, 1858-1940,* in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 26 (1940); and Gilbert MURRAY, *Margoliouth, David Samuel (1858-1940),* in *The Dictionary of National Biography 1931-1940,* ed L G Wickham LEGG (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), p 597a-99b.

102 This paragraph is based on oral information given by Marie Mingana at Birmingham on 31 May 1990.

103 See MINGANA, Bibliography 18.

104 See MINGANA, Bibliography 10.

105 See MINGANA, Bibliography 11.

106 See MINGANA, Bibliography 14.

107 See MINGANA, Bibliography 8.

108 See MINGANA, Bibliography 13.

109 MW, p 2, lines 22-4.

110 MINGANA, Bibliography 81.

111 These two paragraphs are based on oral information given at Birmingham, on 31 May 1990, by Marie Mingana.

112 See MW, pp 2 & 3.

113 Some information is given by SAKO, p 293. He probably got it from Mingana's brother Kada' and from other people from Sharânsh. I have corrected and completed it with details furnished by Marie Mingana (Birmingham, 31.5.90).

114 See MW, p 1, last line. The same words precisely were used by Marie Mingana in answer to a question about her father's doctorate.

115 MACUCH, p 410, lines 3-6.

116 See VOSTE, p 516.

117 See section 133.2 (and note 46).

118 FIEY, p 266, note 3.

119 MINGANA, Bibliography 9.

120 MINGANA, Bibliography 20.

121 MINGANA, Bibliography 17.

122 MINGANA, Bibliography 18.

123 MINGANA, Bibliography 6.

124 MINGANA, Bibliography 12 and 15.

125 MINGANA, Bibliography 39.

126 Alphonse MINGANA, Notes for talk to Cambridge Theological Society (manuscript in the Selly Oak Library, Birmingham), p 1-2 of the section entitled "Anecdotes". Here is the summary of this anecdote (in MW, p 4: 2-4): 'how an official on the frontier between Syria and Iraq, seeing the title "Dr" on his passport, kept him waiting till all the invalids of the neighbourhood could assemble – a situation which he dealt with by distributing the contents of a bottle of quinine'.

127 *Who Was Who*, vol III (1929-1940), published in 1941, p 946.

128 MW, p 2, last paragraph.

129 See Irene PICKARD, *Memories of J Rendel Harris* (no place, no date [November 1978]), p 46-7.

130 MINGANA, Bibliography 12.

131 MINGANA, Bibliography 15.

132 MINGANA, Bibliography 19.

133 MW, p 3, line 15.

134 MINGANA, Bibliography 22.

135 MW, p 3, lines 8-11.

136 MINGANA, Bibliography 24.

137 MW, p 3, lines 4-7.

138 MINGANA, Bibliography 50.

139 Sebastian BROCK, Alphonse Mingana and the Letter of Philoxenus to Abu 'Afr, in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 50 (1967) 199-206.

140 On this scribe, who copied some 50 manuscripts for Mingana, and died in Mosul on 28 February 1947, see FIEY, p 269. He is listed under number 298 (p 496) in the index of famous scribes given by Patriarch Barsaum in his "History" (see note 43, p 485-96); according to him, his *acme* was between 1889 and 1943.

141 Paul PEETERS, Un nouveau document sur l'histoire des Turcs, in *Byzantion* 4 (1927-8) 569-74.

142 See Alphonse MINGANA, Remarks on the Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia, in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 14 (1930) 123-4. This note is not listed in MINGANA's bibliography.

143 See Paul PEETERS, *Recherches d'histoire et de philosophie orientales,* I (Bruxelles, 1951), p 208-13.

144 See FIEY, p 268-74.

145 See Sebastian BROCK, Alphonse Mingana and the Letter of Philoxenus to Abu 'Afr, in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 50 (1967) 199-206, here p 201-4.

146 *Ibidem*, p 202.

147 MINGANA, Bibliography 76.

148 Alphonse MINGANA, A Semi-official Defence of Islam, in JRAS October 1920, p 481-8, here 481.

149 MINGANA, Bibliography 39 and 40.

150 MW, p 4-5.

151 Paul PEETERS, Review of Mingana's Edition of "The Book of Religion and Empire", in *Analecta Bollandiana* 42 (1924) 200-2.

152 See his obituary entitled: In memoriam: le Père Maurice Bouyges, SJ (1878-1951). Notice et bibliographie, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 29 (1951-52)

153 Maurice BOUYGES, *Le "Kitab ad-din wa 'd-dawlat" recémment édité par Mr A Mingana, est-il authentique?* (Beirut, 1914); IDEM, *Le Kitab ad-din wa 'd-dawlat n'est pas authentique* (Beirut, 1925).

154 See Maurice BOUYGES, 'Aliy ibn Rabban al-Tabriy, in *Der Islam* 22 (1935) 120-1.

155 See Maurice BOUYGES, Nos informations sur 'Aliy . . . al-Tabriy, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 28 (1949-50) 67-114.

156 I have not yet studied the question personally, and prefer not to express any opinion before I make my own accurate study. Many studies have appeared on this book, but no one, to my knowledge, confronts radically the question raised here, comparing in detail the two books attributed to Tabari. Furthermore, the fact that the *Kitâb al-Din wa-l-Dawlah* is not quoted (by name) by any Muslim author raises a question.

157 MINGANA, Bibliography 61.

158 See David Samuel MARGOLIOUTH, On the Book of Religion and Empire by 'Ali b Rabban al-Tabari, in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 16 (1930) 1-20.

159 For Bouyges, see for instance the review of volume III of *Bibliotheca Arabicarum Scholasticarum, Averroès, Tahâfut at Tahâfut* (Beirut 1930, 39 + 679 pages) published by A R GUEST in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1933, p 184-5: 'Father Bouyges' critical edition is excellent in every respect. He follows the same method as he employed for his admirable edition of Ghazâli's Tahâfut (...). His work is able, thorough, and complete'.

160 See above, chapter 1 c) ii-iv) pages 9-12.

161 See above, note 60.

162 See above, chapter 1 c) iv) page 11.

163 See Ignace-'Abdo KHALIFE and Wilhelm KUTSCH, Ar-Radd 'ala n-Nasara de 'Ali al-Tabari, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 36 (1959) 113-48.

164 See Khalil SAMIR, La Réponse d'al-Safi Ibn al-'Assal a la Réfutation des chrétiens de 'Ali al-Tabari, in *Parole de l'Orient* 10 (1983) ...

165 See chapter 2 a) iii) page 9.

166 See chapter 6 b) page 35.

167 Louis CHEIKHO, La discussion religieuse entre le calife al-Mahdi et Timothée, le Catholicos (in Arabic), in *al-Machrig* 21 (1921), p 359-74 and 408-18. Republished in IDEM, *Trois traités de polémique et de théologie chrétienne* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1923), p 1-26.

168 See our edition of this text (with titles and logical divisions) in Hans PUTMAN, *L'Eglise et l'Islam sous Timothée I (780-823)*, coll. "Recherches de l'ILO" B 3 (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1977), p 7-57 (in Arabic). The French translation and the study are by Fr Hans Putman SJ.

169 See Robert CASPAR, Les versions arabes du dialogue entre le Catholicos Timothée I et le calife al-Mahdi (IIe/VIIIe siécle): 'Mohammed a suivi la voie des prophètes', in *Islamo-christiana* 3 (1977), p 107-75 (+ 2 plates).

170 See MINGANA, Bibliography 56, p 51-62.

171 WOLEDGE (1938) p 45.

172 The word 'friend' indicates a member of the 'Society of Friends', the Quakers. In this case, the Friends are Mr and Mrs Edward and Dorothy Cadbury.

173 This is an allusion to Alphonse Mingana.

174 Woodbrooke Council Minute, 14 November 1914, p 768.

175 It is interesting to note the mention, for the first time, of this series, which was in fact to be begun by Mingana a year later, in 1927. He was to publish 7 large volumes, from 1927 to 1934. See MINGANA, Bibliography 55, 56, 64, 65, 67, 72 and 75.

176 Letter preserved in Woodbrooke College Library.

177 Letter preserved in Woodbrooke College Library.

178 Letter preserved in Woodbrooke College Library.

179 Letter preserved in Woodbrooke College Library.

180 Letter preserved in Woodbrooke College Library.

181 Central Council minute book, 1927-66, p 37 (7 June 1932), minute 388.

182 MW, p 1.

183 WOLEDGE, p 46.

184 On René Graffin, see Louis MARIÈS, in *Construire*, 3 ser. (1941) 216-27; Sylvain GREBAUT, in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 3 ser. 10 (1935-6) 225-30; Francois GRAFFIN, in *Catholicisme* 5 (196-) 181-2; P W SKEHAN, art. Graffin, René, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 6 (1967) 687-8.

185 On François Nau and his prodigious scientific activity, see M BRIÈRE, L'abbé François-Nicolas Nau, in *Journal Asiatique* 223 (1933) 149-80; Ignazio ORTIZ DE URBINA, in *Enciclopedia Cattolica* 8 (196-) 1692; L F HARTMAN, art. Nau, François Nicolas, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 10 (1967) 281a.

186 See above, chapter 1 c) ii-iii) pages 9-11.

187 MW, p 3, lines 17-9.

188 See 'The Purpose and Character of the Central Library', 1947, David MOLE, p 2. (Typescript 20 pages)

* MW = Margoliouth and Woledge, listed in Bibliography as Alphonse Mingana, below p 60.

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